

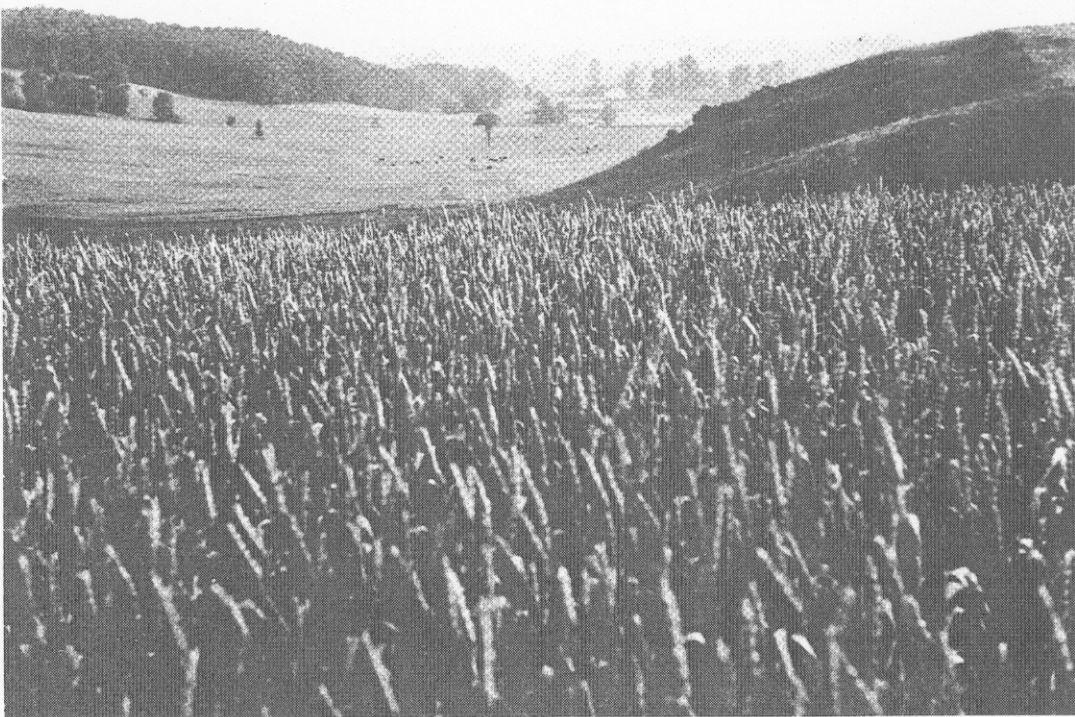
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IMPLEMENTATION
THE CARROT AND THE STICK



During 1963 and 1964, The Plan for the Valleys—a seventy-square mile sector of largely undeveloped countryside northwest of Baltimore, Maryland—was prepared for the Green Spring and Worthington Valley (GSWV) Planning Council, Inc. The Plan used a new ecological planning approach that first identified land that should be left in a natural state. Land suitable for limited development as well as land whose development did not significantly affect natural processes or the unique visual character of the Valleys was then examined to see whether or not it could meet metropolitan needs for development and local property owner's economic goals if a mechanism for equitable distribution of gains in land values could be devised. A program for action and implementation developed as an integral part of the Plan was adopted by the Valleys Council and has been in operation for the past six years. While key private actions have not yet been taken, it is still too early to predict failure of the Plan. The County, the Regional Planning Council, and the state of Maryland have all adopted the Plan "in principle." To date, damaging zoning changes and inappropriate utility and highway layouts have been prevented, or cajoled, into conformance. But time is running out. Will the Valleys be the first successful large-scale example in America of humane development and conservation of the countryside by citizen action? Or will it be convincing evidence that only through state or federal intervention using the power of eminent domain will suburban sprawl be averted?

WALLACE & McDONNELL

DIARY OF A PLAN

David A. Wallace

William C. McDonnell

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William C. McDonnell, AIP, is Consultant-Director of the Valleys Planning Council and currently serves as Consultant to the Baltimore City Department of Planning, the Maryland State Department of Planning, and the Rouse Company, and as an instructor in Planning Implementation at Johns Hopkins University. Before entering consultant practice, he was a Project Director of the Planning Council of the Greater Baltimore Committee with David Wallace and Resident Planner during the preparation of The Plan For The Valleys.

Making the Plan: 1963-64

January 1963 Thomas L. Karsten, Chairman of the Green Spring and Worthington Valley (GSWV) Planning Committee calls David Wallace at Penn. He states that the Council, formed in late 1962 by 250 property owners in the Valleys' area, had approached Baltimore County to ask for a plan, but Malcolm Dill, the County Planning Director, said he could not assign staff on such a preferred basis. Dill suggested the Council hire a consultant to work closely with the County. Wallace, who had lived in Baltimore before accepting a teaching position at Penn in the fall of 1961, seemed a logical choice. Karsten states that the objective of GSWV is not to oppose change but to prevent the rape of the countryside which unplanned disorderly development would surely entail.

Wallace talks with Ian McHarg, a former Harvard classmate and now chairman of Penn's Department of Landscape Architecture. McHarg is principal investigator on an open space research project relevant to the Valleys' problem. Wallace and McHarg decide to associate and open an office on the basis of the job.

February 1963 Draft a proposal after talking with County. William C. McDonnell, who worked with Wallace at the Planning Council of the Greater Baltimore Committee, is hired as resident planner.

March 1963 Sign a contract with GSWV and retain Ann Louise Strong and William Grigsby as legal, administrative, and economic consultants. Both are members of the Penn open space research group. Paul Niebanck will work with Grigsby.

Meet for the first time GSWV membership. Find an interesting group with a few big landowners, but mostly people on three to ten acres who like to look at the open land.

April 1963 Open offices in McHarg's attic and in Towson, Maryland, after Council sends retainer. Make first photo reconnaissance of area. Original proposal was for thirty-five square miles based on early membership in GSWV. Additional membership causes Karsten to ask us to enlarge area to eighty square miles. Council promises more money which does not materialize. Final determination of northern boundary to be made when physiographic survey done. (See Figure 1.)

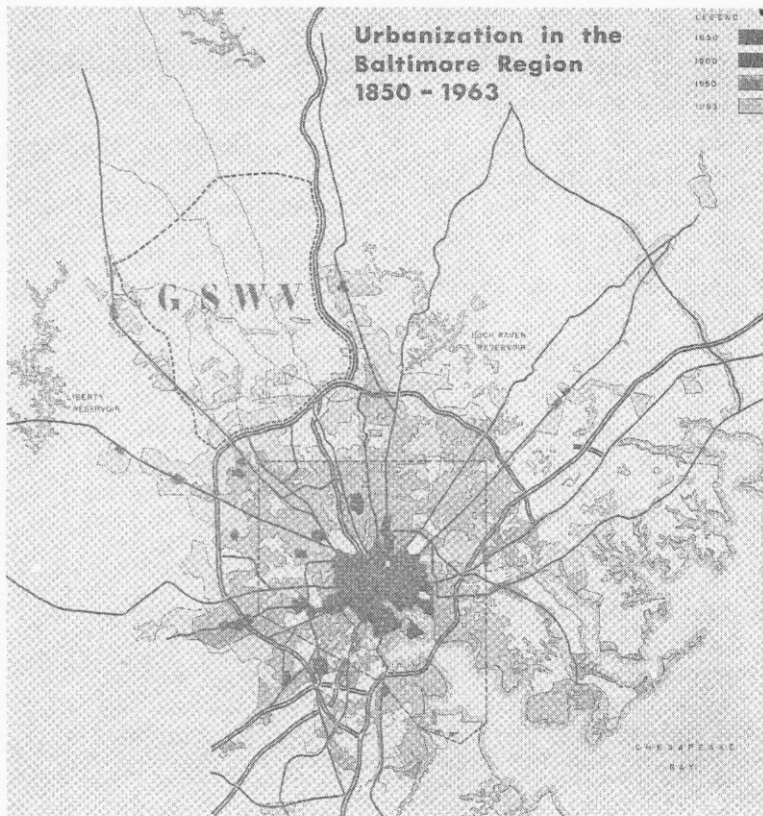


FIGURE 1 *Urbanization in the Baltimore Region*

THE FIRST CRISIS

April 1963 A pressure point develops: 100 acres at the southeast corner of the Green Spring Valley is now offered for sale at \$7,500 per acre, assuming shopping center zoning. Adjacent property owner, a member of the GSWV Planning Committee, says he would rather forfeit the increased value of his property than have a shopping center as a neighbor. Member asks why couldn't GSWV have an area development corporation of their own so that all property owners would share in the development of properties that the plan will designate, and the development corporation idea is born. Owners who gain as a result of a plan should share profits with those who do not. All members are interested in a balance between amenity and investment opportunity.

Interview with James W. Rouse reveals he is the one who has option on 100-acre pressure point. Rouse says he feels idea of a development corporation is critical to implementation of any plan. Rouse's 100 acres are 75 percent flood plain. We think it could be providential protection though Rouse says it is easily filled, *but* he must have a sewer.

Increasingly realize crucial importance of sewer issue. The Jones Falls Interceptor, leading to the Inner Harbor, will "logically" be extended into the Green Spring Valley. Then, wham! The only protection is that it and its tributary sewers all leak. The State Health Department has placed a moratorium on extensions. Lake Roland and the Jones Falls (stream) along its course are already badly polluted. "Effluent Acres!" This and the fact that much of the soil in the Green Spring Valley is not suitable for septic tanks at one-acre densities is what has held development up this long.

Very clearly, the Rouse development can be approved *only* if there is a sewer extension. Rouse is a most persuasive person. Advise Council they must sit tight until we have further evidence. Rouse's option runs out in December.

THE NITTY GRITTY

May 1963 Our work program spells out two parallel tracks of investigation: (1) physiographic inventory and visual analysis; and (2) predictions of uncontrolled growth followed by alternative plans and synthesis. Department of Planning does not like uncontrolled growth label. Implication is that their work has no real impact except at the subdivision level. More or less true. Basic approach is to develop a plan based on a "presumption for nature," see how much uncontrolled growth conflicts with it, and then prepare a process of guidance and control to minimize conflicts. Decide on "handicraft" modelling technique after considering various mathematical approaches as unworkable at our level of detail and data. McDonnell and Wallace begin sketch outline of uncontrolled growth model.

June 1963 Memo on "The Development Corporation Conception" is sent to members with a legal opinion attached. It points out possible "syndication" as a limited partnership rather than incorporation to avoid double taxation.

Assemble data on past and present populations: 94 percent white; median income \$8,744, (\$6,199 for Baltimore SMSA); 45 percent in same house in 1955 and 1960 (51 percent in BSMSA). Baltimore Metropolitan Area Transit Study predicted that by 1980, 65 percent of now vacant or agricultural land would be developed in Valleys. Population to increase from 26,964 in 1960 to 80,000 by 1980 to 110,520 by 2000. Most growth on east, west, and south. We accept these and Morton Hoffman's

(1962) sector allocations as basic "attraction rate" of Valleys.

Present population is of three kinds: rich, social people on estates and gentleman farms; newcomers on one to five-acre lots and in expensive subdivisions; and "villagers," farmers, and people on scattered roadside development.

"Reds" (M. Gordon) Wolman at Johns Hopkins has a new "short-cut" method for fifty-year flood plain determination which we find extremely helpful. It agrees with our own calculations based on soil types. Wallace Knight of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service reports on four tentative dam sites in the Worthington Valley and others to come. Discover most of Caves Valley, a smaller central area which is for sale, is fifty-year flood plain. More on this later. Also discover on looking at geology maps that the three major valleys are underlain by Cockeysville Marble, an aquifer that is very likely connected to the Loch Raven Reservoir to the east. While we cannot get proof, it would appear that pollution of the underground water in the Valleys would affect Baltimore's water supply. Even well-designed sewers leak as much as 20 percent.

The full impact of the sewer issue now hits us. All of these lovely valleys are virtually undevelopable except at very low densities unless a major interceptor is placed in the Green Spring Valley. When it is, the valleys will go first, then the hill-sides, then the plateau. All that will be left of their character will be street signs and postal addresses.

THE FIRST CRISIS COOLS

July 1963 The Executive Committee meets with Rouse for his advice on the planning work. He says he does not have a contract for the 100 acres. Rouse encourages the Committee regarding its objectives and says, "... a tough problem, but more likely to be soluble here than anywhere I know. However, the plan may foreclose the opportunity for introducing the development corporation idea. A landowner sees that his property will become a shopping center in the plan, so why should he participate." Rouse warns against compromising at outset. He predicts that the values attributable to development with a plan will be substantially greater than without a plan. However the real motivation will be the quality of living provided by a good plan, he says. Our suspicion is that Rouse will drop his option—he seems preoccupied and rumors are he has big plans elsewhere.

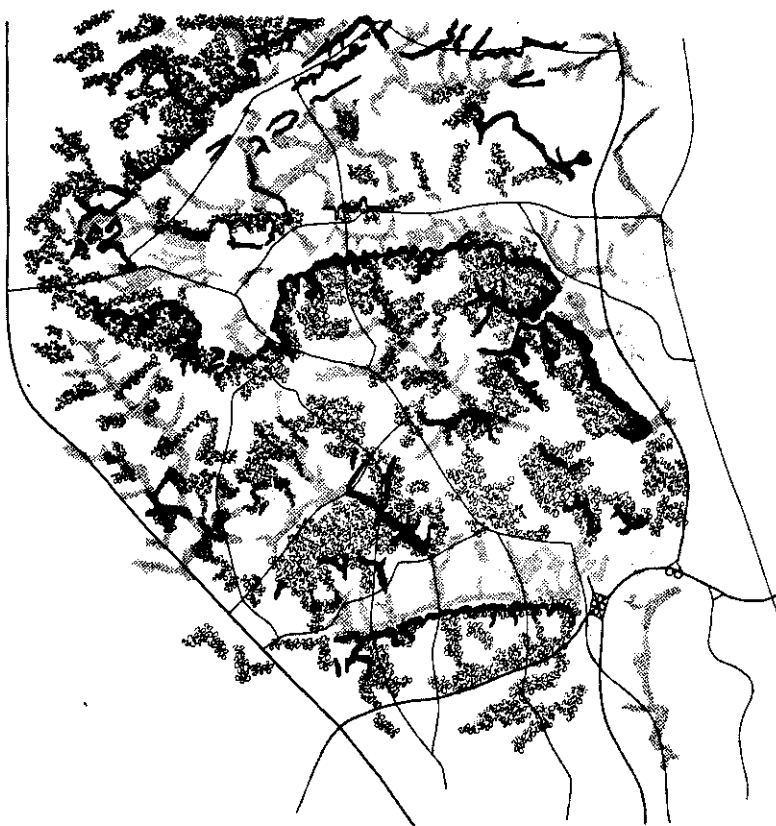


FIGURE 2 *The Natural Determinants of Form: Forests, Steep Slopes, Flood Plains, and Soils Unsuitable to Septic Tanks in the Valleys*

August 1963 In an Interim Report to Membership, actions of Council are reported as follows: "Highly encouraging and of vital significance to the development of the plan, is the fact that potential developers have, in nearly every area, been seeking our advice and assistance. . . . Those who have contacted us are withholding their final plans so that their proposals will logically fit our plan." Through these apparent victories, the Council has clearly gained credibility and stature.

MORE NITTY-GRITTY

The nature of the planning problem is now clear: (1) to determine the optimum development of the Valleys consistent with a high level of natural amenity and with good overall public policy; (2) to devise a process to achieve and sustain this optimum; and (3) to provide a mechanism for equitable distribution of the benefits of development. "The philosophy with which we approach this problem is based on two assumptions . . . that there is within the Valleys a 'genius loci' which must be discovered and exploited, a fundamental

essence that will guide and control future form: and that planning is a process of posing alternatives, weighing them against each other and against a value system shared by the community." Steps in the planning process are to be:

Step One. Analysis of Present Conditions and Past Trends: (1) population; (2) land use and property analysis including ownership patterns and intentions, assessments, sales, and land values; (3) natural form and process studies (Figure 2); (4) major determinants of urban form (Morton Hoffman's "K" Factors) including transportation, water and sewer (Figure 3), proximity to existing development, negative influences, intentions of owners and residents, public and quasi-public decisions; (5) legislative and administrative background.

Step Two. Forecast of Probable Growth: (1) population and housing market projections divided into income groups, housing types, and land utilization; (2) commercial, industrial, and public facility projections; (3) growth model in five-year sequences, reasonably predictable in the early stages where current subdivision completion, probable subdivisions, and land now for sale is known, less accurate later; (4) benefit-cost analysis based on three viewpoints—the County's, the residents' and property owners', and the developers'.

Step Three. Planned Alternatives: (1) fundamental amenity designates the major valleys and wooded areas as the genius loci from which development must be diverted; (2) public control and private persuasion to establish the basis of restrictions; (3) development of planned "amenity alternatives" as minimum and optimum plans.

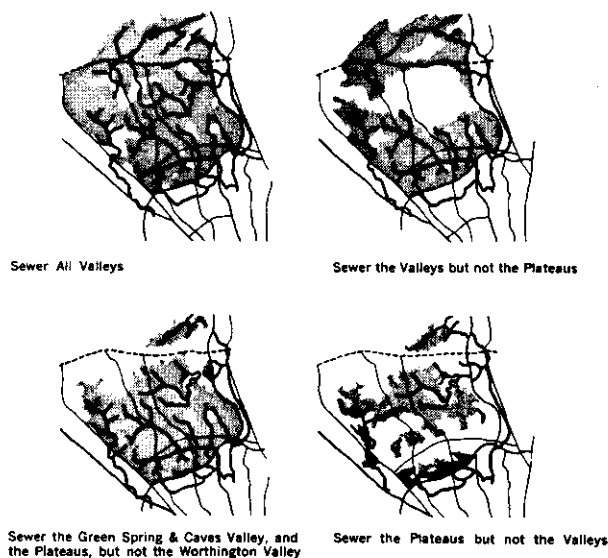


FIGURE 3 *Alternate Sewer Alignments*

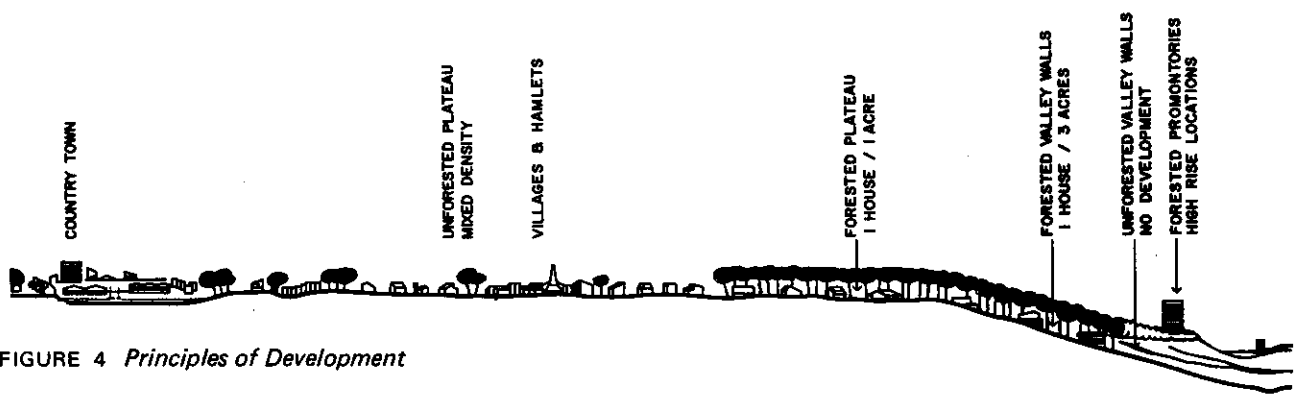


FIGURE 4 *Principles of Development*

Step Four. Selection and Implementation of Optimum Plan and Programs: a process of involvement of the citizens, the County, and the regional planners in the development of alternatives and in the process of implementation, feedback, and revision; the role of an Optimum Plan in setting sights high and establishing principles to follow.

A DIVIDED CONSTITUENCY

September 1963 The second big crisis. Samuel Gorn with Gulf American has an option on 1,355 acres of The Caves (Valley) at the far end of the Green Spring Valley drainage basin. Gorn wants us to do a plan for him. Advise GSWV that we cannot work for Gorn. Get authorization for a special GSWV study for \$3,500. The sewer is again the issue. Conclude most of Gorn's land should not be developed based on emerging principles of the plan and the natural limitations of his site. A large part of it is flood plain.

The issue is not that easily resolved. Gorn's proposal has brought to the surface the divided nature of the constituency. Jews are residentially segregated in Baltimore more than any other city in the United States—the dividing line is up the Jones Falls and along Park Heights Avenue with few Jewish families to the east. Gorn has always built for the "Jewish market." The Caves is a geographic extension of the largely Jewish, Liberty-Reisterstown-Road-Park-Heights sector.

Gorn presumably would aim solely at the Jewish market. The Council's membership is both Jewish and Gentile and realizes that the historic division should not be perpetuated. This feeling adds impetus to our study of the Gorn proposal.

We do a preliminary site plan for the Gorn property which shows two conflicts with his ideas: his site will produce only half as much housing as he wants with no "R&D" industry at all; and the most suitable housing sites are on the northern side of the Caves valley—where Gorn says he cannot begin

because it would not be contiguous with existing housing. We arrive at a stalemate, but the Council stands firm and tells Gorn they will oppose him.

THE "TRUTH MAP"

Uniqueness of the GSWV area is clearly in the three major open valleys and the surrounding wooded hillsides. The Gorn experience firms up resolve that these must be preserved intact if the area's basic amenity is to be retained. We establish the following principles as a trial: do not build in the valleys; build at one house per three acres on wooded hillsides; build at maximum of one house per acre on wooded plateau; on open plateau and major promontories build at any density indicated by market and good design standards. (See Figures 4 and 5.) The one- and three-acre densities result from empiric observation of how dense development can be and still retain woods. Call the result of these principles literally applied to the GSWV area the "Truth Map." It is a new kind of zoning based on environmental determinism rather than economics. Have the courage of convictions but are still pretty scared. Result will undoubtedly scare client also.

October 1963 First sketch plans based on the "Truth Map" are made. The concept of testing the resulting development pattern is evolved. Can the pattern accommodate the housing market as outlined by Grigsby and Niebanck? Since the usual engineering route of sewers up the valleys is out of the question as a method of serving the plateaus alone, is there another way to efficiently sewer major development on the plateaus? Does the environmentally derived development pattern make sense or is it chaotic? How does it fit into regional concepts of form (already published by the Regional Planning Council)? How much will current highway plans have to change to guide growth toward our development concept? Will the cost of open space exceed the increases in value attribut-

able to greater intensity and efficiency of development?

Rouse's new town in Howard County is announced in *The Sun* under headlines reading "Howard City Plan Stirs Concern," and "Howard Project Stirs Wariness." Name for new town not yet selected. This helps create a climate favorable to the GSWV planning. People think bigger, although as usual general reaction is that Rouse is over his head. Rouse has apparently dropped the 100-acre proposal in the Green Spring Valley.

TESTING SKETCH PLANS

November 1963 Sketch plans now complete. It develops that by extending a major trunk sewer from east of the GSWV, the plateaus can be efficiently served. Grigsby's market forecast indicates: All demand from small-lot construction can be met in the next ten years *without* entering the valleys," but "beware encouraging too much development as it will discourage builders elsewhere and accelerate and snowball in GSWV." Begin examination of the sketch plan to see how proposals "fit" implementation devices. Will it pass the administrative and legal tests?

Complete current value map and assumptions after checking them against sales and with appraisers. Begin estimation of values generated by the proposed development based on calculations of increases and decreases in value. This is the same concept as "compensation and betterment" in British legislation.

COUNTY AND REGIONAL PLANNERS TAKE ISSUE

November 1963 Meet with County planners for second time on sketch plans. Initially a good reaction, but they want to be more involved in

what we're doing. We cannot let them slow us down now. All is not sweetness and light. We clearly represent "project" planning to them. Interpretation is that they feel GSWV will set in motion pressures that will force their hand on allocation of capital projects and resources. They feel we are committing them in advance of their "comprehensive plan" which they keep saying is not far off. But when? We'll all be dead in the meantime.

December 1963 Letter from County Planning states that staff generally approves sketch plan and emphasizes need to consider indirect costs and benefits. However, letter says our concepts are inconsistent with regional planners' Metrotown report. We disagree and show that GSWV area is mostly an interstice between Metrotowns—a further reason for limiting growth to that projected for this general area by Hoffman, whose work is our point of departure. The regional planners are now reported enthusiastic about GSWV *being* a Metrotown instead of an interstice. (Remember Grigsby's comment about "snowballing.") We resist this for the reason that by their own criteria no part of the GSWV area qualifies as a Metrotown center. We are not trying to attract more population than would be obtained from uncontrolled growth. This is an aspect of the usual conflict between project or area planning and notions of comprehensiveness. We develop from this the position that the GSWV has certain "obligations" to the region (and County): to accommodate growth and a wide variety of housing types and people; to provide an expressway alignment for regional movement east and west; and, to produce taxes and support services. We conclude that the GSWV does not have to, and should not, compete with nearby job and regional shopping centers whose success would



FIGURE 5 *Forested Valley Walls Development*

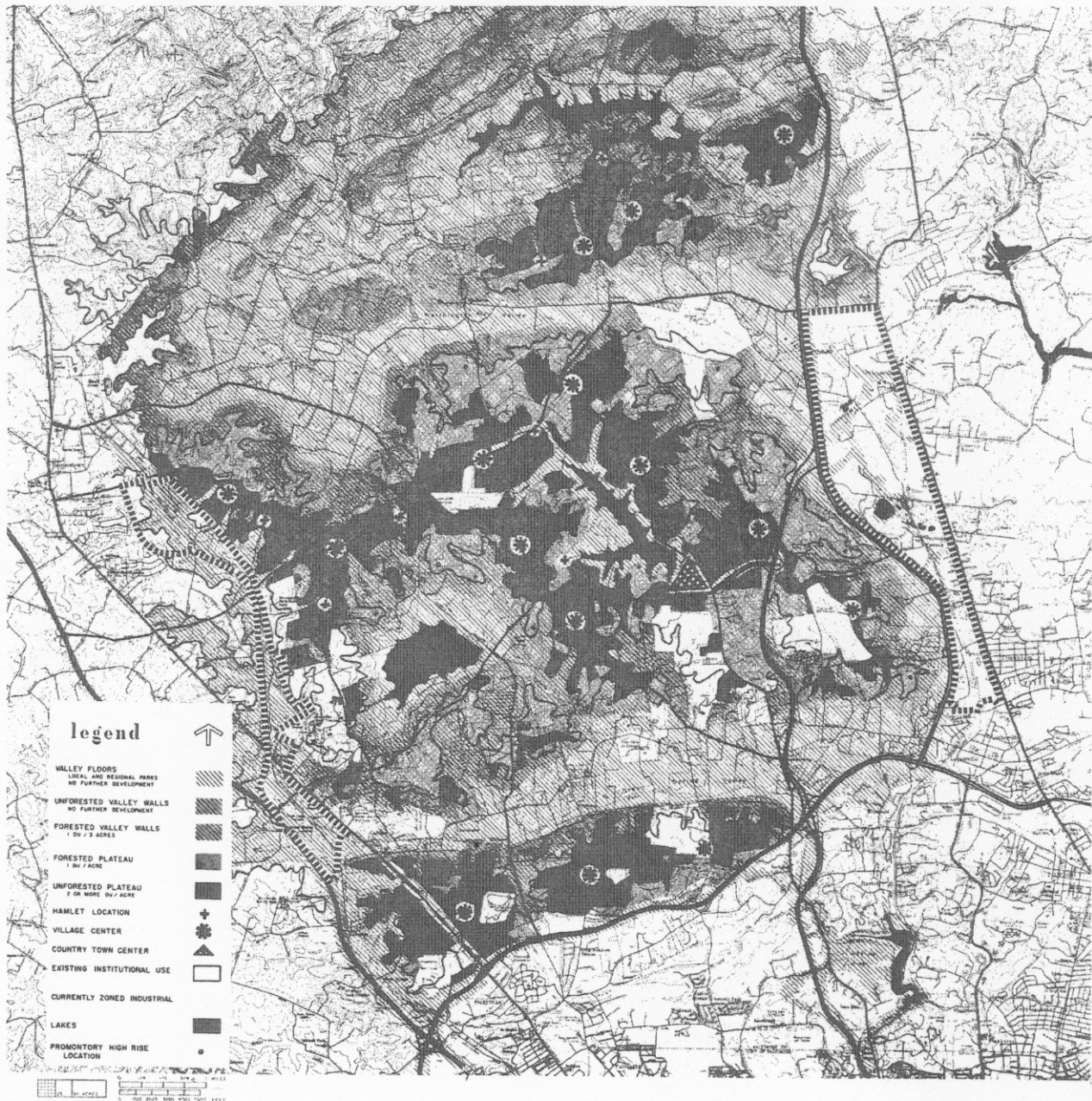


FIGURE 6 *Optimum Land Use*

then be undercut. Since the County and regional planners had proposed the nearby centers they could hardly disagree. Also, in point of fact, the County planners, for all their protestations to the contrary, do not, and will not, have anything like an overall master or comprehensive plan in the foreseeable future. They do not have the staff for it, nor are they likely to get it.

OPTIMUM PLAN—"ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE"
December 1963 Karsten, GSWV Chairman, has written a letter "blowing the whistle" on our

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"Optimum Plan." (See Figure 6.) He says, "What gives me the greatest pause is that we are almost certain to be in the posture of going to our constituents with a beautiful plan that is *absolutely impossible of achievement*." He urges that we tailor specific recommendations to specific subareas and have a strategic "drop-back-and-punt" contingency scheme as well. We call a conference. Karsten is right.

January 1964 The Technical Report is now well underway. Our response to Karsten is on two fronts. With Strong we have worked out a "pro-

gressive accumulation of controls" starting with those *now* available. We also develop several "sub-optimum" schemes that will give the Council a way of achieving the "least-worst," if not the best results. Karsten is encouraged. McDonnell reports results on financial test: unplanned growth generates \$33 million in land value increases versus \$40 million-plus for the Plan. Great news which encourages Karsten still more.

AN IMPATIENT CLIENT

January 1964 We receive a letter from Herbert Wagner (member of the GSWV Planning Committee and Chairman of the Finance Committee), who says members are asking for detailed report on our employees, costs, and what we're up to. He says, "Frankly, the members and subscribers are getting a bit restless, especially since we just sent out the final pledge billing."

Our reply includes the current job budget, still not supplemented by the funds requested when the planning area was expanded, and our project staff: besides McHarg and Wallace, we have had one full-time, two temporary, and four part-time employees, two professors and five students working part-time as consultants, a geological consultant, and a real estate consultant. Total time spent to date is between 750 and 800 workdays.

We suggest that the steps from here on out might look like this:

1. GSWV retains a full-time executive director.
2. Establish broadly based committees of the membership to work on various specialized programs.
3. Press for adoption by county and state of recommended policy and control devices (implement the Plan).
4. Create a development organization (syndicate) and a conservation trust.
5. Publicize the program for countywide support.
6. Retain planning consultants for development of detailed area plans.

February 1964 Strong reports "forest zoning" won't work. Nicholas Muhlenberg says, "No forest is profitable unless it is part of a lumber company's total operation, i.e., restricting land to this use will cause a serious drop in market value."

Meet with Samuel Gorn on The Caves and tell him we had advised GSWV to totally oppose his

proposals. The Council is ready for this now and can probably win.

BLACK AND WHITE

March 1964 The Technical Report is now completed. Reaction of GSWV is that it's too long and that we must tone down the black-white thing. We agree that it is too long and start preparation of the non-technical "Plan for the Valleys." Technical Report length is caused by desire to record all basic data, steps of analysis and synthesis, to enable the reader to understand as completely as possible the reasons for each conclusion and recommendation and the basis for each assumption be it of fact or value.

On the issue of race we said in the first draft that the GSWV area must accommodate a wide variety of housing types and income groups, and this meant, inevitably, "group houses" and blacks. Baltimore, and a lot of our constituency, is very southern in attitude. We assure them they cannot morally or practically exclude moderate and low-income families, and if they expect their Plan to be consistent with public policy they had better accept this fact. And this means blacks. The Council's response is to agree with us but to ask us to "play it down" in the interest of political feasibility. They point out that blacks and moderate income housing will inevitably come to the GSWV area, and that our statement for a "wide variety of housing types" will mean in fact a wide variety of income groups. We leave it at that and say "The Valleys should accommodate as full a variety of housing types as possible."

THE POLITICIANS AND SPIRO T. AGNEW

April 1964 The pace quickens. As publication of the Plan proceeds, we continue a series of meetings with County officials and property owners. Comments vary. McDonnell reports on an informal meeting with selected County Councilmen. He says, "We will have to go a long way before getting any form of approval or support from them. We will have to force their hand." A frequent reaction is that "those rich guys are going to make a lot of money, so why should we help them?" It becomes clear that the latent antagonism of the "have-nots" in the rest of the Country against the Valleyites is formidable. In terms of County legislative action,

the attitude seems to be "why should we do anything for them?"

Wallace-McHarg becomes Wallace McHarg Associates as Bill Roberts and Thomas Todd become partners. We still get letters addressed to Mr. Wallace McHarg.

McDonnell leaves to become Director of Planning for the GSWV on a budget of \$2,000 a month. McDonnell has well-thought-out program which board does not approve in toto.

Chief of County Master Planning meets with us and says he thinks it would be ridiculous of us to publish our Action Program. He fears the Plan and Program are too far ahead of planning in the rest of County. McHarg points out that methods we use have wide applicability. However, the County planners are pessimistic.

Meet with Spiro T. Agnew, County Executive, and members of his administration. County Executive Agnew's response is bureaucratic:

If we accept and back this plan, every Tom, Dick and Harry who ever took a course in drafting will be making plans for areas of the county. The large lot-conservation zone pro-

posed in the Plan is completely unacceptable. I even have doubts about the R-40 or one acre log zone as possibly being unconstitutional . . . a taking without just compensation . . . little should be said of the guiding role of the County in the development of the Plan.

He points out, however, that our effort might "force" a closer relationship between public works and planning in Baltimore County. He says if we can get owners to voluntarily not develop or to sell to developers he might go along. But at least he agrees "in principle."

May 1964 McDonnell reports that State Roads Commission Chairman John Funk's reaction to Plan's proposed alignment of Jones Falls Expressway extension and location of the access to it on the plateau is positive. County should put it on their Highway Master Plan.

Inform County planners we are about to release Plan. They panic, feeling we should be willing to settle for the "sub-optimum" and not oppose several key developments that will violate the Plan. We tell them we are advising GSWV to fight. County Planning Office is having difficulty with "over R-40" zoning. Strong's earlier opinion on their proposal: "... implementation and administrative details not thought out... too tentative . . . would run serious constitutional risk in the Green Spring Valley."

Agnew agrees privately with GSWV proposal to oppose sewer extension to the Rouse (now Mechanic) 100 acres at Falls and Valley Roads. However, he is not sure of his legal position. He admits that no owner has a "right" to a sewer, but if the owner is willing to pay for it, the County must have good grounds for denying it. He further agrees, at least in principle, with us that if GSWV has areas for intensive housing, low density (three to twenty acres) zoning may be supportable.

June 1964 Plan for the Valleys is published and distributed. (See Figure 7.) At this point Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, and Todd's professional relationship with the GSWV comes to an end.

Implementing the Plan: 1964-70

Soon after the release of The Plan For The Valleys, increasingly conflicting attitudes form on the part of government and private individuals:

1. County Executive Agnew's guarded acceptance of the Plan as a guide for future develop-



FIGURE 7 *Bird's Eye Perspective of Optimum Development. The Green Spring Valley and The Caves are in the foreground, the Worthington Valley in the distance.*

ment indicates a need to develop a close liaison with many of the staff of the various departments of his administration.

2. Staff members of other government agencies, notably local and regional planning, while applauding the efforts of the private sector and the technical achievements of the Plan are reluctant to make public statements on its behalf, even indicating a sense of displeasure at the proposals, many of which will doubtless take years to implement and some of which are, in fact, their own proposals that for one reason or another they were not able to publicize.

3. A group of large landowners within The Valleys Council membership mistakenly sees the Plan as an abrogation of their vested constitutional rights to hold or dispose of their individual properties as they see fit.

4. Some of the active members of the Planning Committee of the Council, which managed the development of the Plan with the consultants and staff, run scared and revert to a rather conservative stance with respect to the more influential and wealthy members and this attitude is to prevail for several years to follow.

5. Although the Council follows our earlier suggestion to hire a full-time director, most decisions are made secretly with the advice of legal counsel, out of context of professional planning advice.

6. Many of the Council's members and citizens of the community-at-large were impressed with the continuing success of Downtown's Charles Center (now about halfway along in its program) and would like to see immediate physical accomplishment through The Plan For The Valleys . . . buildings on the ground and in the right places, total government support at the outset . . . immediate acceptance of the Plan by builders and developers as if it were firm County policy . . . immediate rezoning to match the Plan's land use proposals. When these don't happen, they become disillusioned.

In sum, the implementation period begins with the leadership bent on success but moving with great caution and deliberate constraints. Had Agnew taken a stronger and more positive position at the start, the Council's leadership would have doubtless been bolder in their attitude and the

pace would have quickened. With a reluctant County Administration, a conservative stance on the part of local planners, and a negative and warning attitude on the part of a segment of influential members of the Council, implementation begins. Support will come slowly.

A LONG CAMPAIGN AHEAD

1964-65 It is clear at the outset that quiet and deliberate moves are needed to gain acceptance of the Plan on all fronts. Officers and individual members of the Council find themselves "evangelizing" throughout the business day and during leisure hours, supported by detailed weekly progress reports from McDonnell.

The basic strategy is very simple—and very timid. The president and six-man executive committee are to be responsible for the management of the Council and the planning program; the Director will report directly to the president, more often than not on a daily basis and to the Committee in writing each week; each Committee member is to discreetly spread information to friends and neighbors on request or when opportune.

McDonnell proceeds to formally present the Plan to every local and state agency and some federal organizations as well, to local developers, real estate operators, engineering professionals, garden clubs, schools, and any interested groups and individuals. Within the first months of operation, initial apathy is overcome:

1. The County Planning Board and the local Soil Conservation District adopt resolutions approving the Plan in principle.

2. The Regional Planning Council begins physiographic studies of the entire region using the techniques established in The Plan For The Valleys.

3. The Council commits itself to involvement in two major zoning cases and develops a policy whereby it can assist all parties in an area where a rezoning is requested in making available detailed studies by its staff, consultations with protesters' attorneys, and legal assistance.

4. *Fortune* magazine gives substantial coverage to the Plan. *Landscape Architecture* devotes a full article to the Plan in its April 1965 issue.

At this point the Council has varying degrees of involvement with approximately two dozen proposals for development. Only two go to rezoning

hearings. The balance of developers either withdraw or defer action after consultation with the Council's staff. The Council rationalizes this action with respect to contributions to the Council versus the cost of law suits . . . "were it not for the fact of the Council and its Plan, all of these cases (23) would have been heard by the Zoning Commissioner and possibly through the Court of Appeals and the enormous costs involved would have been borne by individuals in the area."

**SPEAK SOFTLY-IF YOU DON'T
HAVE A BIG STICK**

1965 The Council increasingly hopes that a deliberate "soft sell" program might work. National publicity, acceptance of the Plan by local planning agencies, an increase in membership contributions, and successes with a number of "hard nosed developers" seem to support this view. Some feel, however, that they should "see something." They want visible evidence of the by now total expenditure of \$125,000 . . . at least something beyond "the pretty little green book." The Executive Committee's attitude toward this is that while visible evidence such as a new community a la Columbia is not present, some limited success has been achieved:

1. To recent settlers of the Valleys, membership on the Valleys Council provides the opportunity to become involved in the affairs of the community. The rewards of participation are similar in kind but greater in degree than those offered by the many local improvement associations. The Council states: "Our responsibilities go well beyond the garden variety improvement association . . . what we have to deal with is the landscape, and the future of the land is our responsibility."

2. Although The Plan For The Valleys at this point has negligible impact on general County development policy, it, nevertheless, is instrumental in influencing routine decisions of County administrative agencies. The wealth of technical information which the Valleys Council makes available to the County agencies and its willingness to provide technical assistance are primary sources of the Council's influence in the County's administrative decision-making process.

3. The Baltimore County Office of Planning and Zoning has found in the Valleys Council a

valuable constituency in promoting its aims in government administration. The County Administration has for the first time indicated a recognition of planning by its endorsement of The Plan For The Valleys. A number of business firms encourage their executives to become active on the Valleys Council. This provides the upward-mobile executive an opportunity to get in the spotlight without placing an inordinate demand on his time. Commercial and industrial firms which participate in the Valleys program find the Plan promises to protect their investment in property.

4. The Regional Planning Council views the Council's effort as a valuable experiment in using private agreements to execute subregional plans.

5. Speculative builders as well as investors in real estate are among the most generous contributors to the Council. Also, many large landowners subscribe to the Valleys Council because they can see the Plan promises to protect the value of their property. Their contribution (10 percent of the tax bill on the assessed value of their property annually) is a form of insurance on their property.

After a year's operation, the Council can look to some progress and many developing problems. On the progress side, 600 acres of land in the Green Spring Valley, the area most susceptible to development, are now placed in multipartite agreements. Their owners agree not to develop for a three-year period. The County's planning staff asks the Council's help in drawing up new land use regulations, particularly the proposed Planned Development District. The Council's Development Review Committee has completed studies of a number of plans submitted to the Council by developers. The resultant degree of cooperation is very encouraging. Students at the University of Maryland Law School have conducted a study of legal problems involved in the creation of the syndicate or development trust and a thirty-two-man committee of the American Bar Association has released an article studying in detail the legal proposals put forth in The Plan For The Valleys.

COUNCIL INFLUENCE SPREADS

1966 "The Council has assumed the complexion of a quasi-public agency, quietly and 'gratefully' accepted by the County administration." Some restraint is placed on what has previ-

ously been a promiscuous and somewhat random policy of utility extensions by the County Council; school sites in conflict with The Plan For The Valleys are eliminated from County plans; the construction of private sewage treatment plants is prevented when several proposals are defeated through the efforts of the Council; the County planners and the Soil Conservation Service develop a coordinated program of soils mapping for the County; and the Zoning Commissioner is obviously impressed with the Council's work and prestige as he endeavors to bring developer and Council together in zoning disputes. The Council spends over half its budget on the review of twenty-eight development proposals, and a quarter in developing the multipartite agreements among members in the Green Spring Valley and continuing detailed planning studies. The remaining 25 percent of its work is devoted to coordinating the Plan with various local, state, and federal agencies.

BRUSH FIRES

Facts of geographic and economic life and a conservatively "constructive" approach to specific problems continue as Council's chief tools in trying to implement the Plan. Brush fire after brush fire is put out. The County proposes the creation of a sanitary landfill on 200 acres of farm land north of the Worthington Valley. The issue of refuse disposal has been argued for months in the County Council after Executive Agnew's proposal to develop a policy of incineration is defeated. McDonnell begins working as a liaison between area residents and the County's engineering staff. The Council's position is that a dump is an industrial land use and should be in an industrially zoned region. The Council hires an independent engineer and gets a grudging thirty days from Agnew to develop an alternative location.

The best they are able to find is land near a large commercial quarry—a site previously rejected by the County. County engineers fear that seepage from a dump there might pollute ground water flowing into the metropolitan area's water supply at Loch Raven. While the Council's engineer believes that this can be overcome by sealing the site against seepage, the County Engineer refuses to believe it. The Council's members show up 250 strong at a meeting of the Baltimore County Council when the matter is considered. In the face of this opposition, the County Council votes almost

unanimously against acquisition of the farm property, and a method is quickly found to seal the bottom of the site chosen by the Council. That brush fire is out.

It is an important victory because it brings into focus the purpose of the entire program of The Plan For The Valleys. If the site originally selected by County engineers were developed as a landfill, it would cause a mass exodus from the area, with widespread selling of land and speculative buying—precisely the kind of disorder that the Valleys Council is trying to avoid. The incident also showed the strength of the Council.

DON'T ROCK THE BOAT

1967 Because of the apparent success of the operation, the Council's officers decide to continue the minimal program and not to expand. As the decision to begin was perhaps the most critical decision, the decision to maintain a minimal program is equally as important but in a negative way. "Don't rock the boat" becomes the policy.

1968 In 1968, John Schmidt writing in the May issue of *Baltimore* concludes that "...the most apparent effect of the group's work is that the lava-like advance of suburbia, which had already penetrated from Baltimore to the fringes of the 75 square mile Valley area, had been contained for the most part. The green valley floors show no signs of being transformed into seas of closely spaced, look-alike houses, with the only forest in view consisting of multi-array television antennas. A drive through the Valleys today reveals them essentially as they were in the middle of the 18th century when the area was first settled."

SETTLING FOR LESS THAN THE BEST

1969 And yet another brush fire! A builder, who is a resident of the Valleys and member of the Valleys Council, proposes to rezone a 114-acre tract in the mid-eastern section of the area. The Council was informed of his intentions as early as 1964. His land is designated by the Plan as permanent open space, but the Council's Executive Committee feels that it lacks the means to prevent the prospective development. The developer needs to extend a sewer to his land which will also be available to the Green Spring Valley, earmarked as one of the major open spaces in the Valleys Plan. There is an alternative method of sewerage for the tract in question, however, and when apprised of

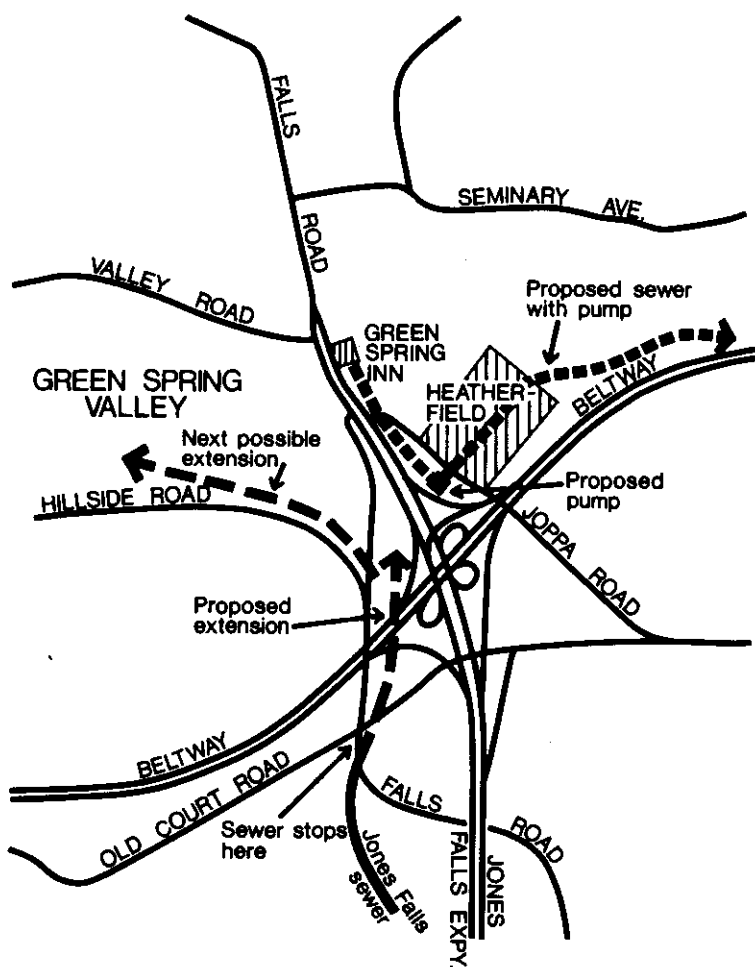


FIGURE 8 *The Jones Falls Sewer Issue*

the Council's intention to block the extension of the major trunk sewer, the developer indicates that he will not request such an extension if the Council will not block his effort to develop his property.

The County engineers inform the Valleys Council that the sewer extension to the property in question can be designed to preclude its further extension—that is toward the open areas of the Green Spring Valley. The Council decides to negotiate with the developer in an effort to persuade him to incorporate a high standard of design into his project. The developer agrees, and Council modifies his initial proposal by reducing the number of units by approximately 10 percent and expanding open space from eleven to thirty acres. His plan still substantially violates The Plan For The Valleys. When these negotiations come to light, the landowners are at once incensed that Council had not previously informed them of the prospective development and that Council had actually assisted the developer in designing the project. They threaten resignation from the Council if it con-

tinues its support, and one member says he will write a letter to the county newspaper describing the Council's "failure to support its membership." As a result, Council opposes the developer in the change of zoning, but the change is granted anyway.

Only one member resigns from the Council, and the development follows the suggestions of the Council's review committee. The developer continues to support the Council and regularly confers with it before undertaking a project in the Valleys area. (And why not?)

The actions of the Council conflict with the interests of some of its membership in this case, which illustrates an important issue relating to the strength and cohesion of the Valleys Council. The Council feels that its permanence is dependent on the ability of its leadership to reach compromises between members' interests and organization objectives in conflict situations. (But, by now what is the objective of the organization—survival?) It is discovered later that the strongest objector to the development had years before sold a developer the land in question.

STILL UP JONES FALLS CREEK

1970 State and County Health Departments have long urged that the Jones Falls Sewer, now terminating one mile to the south of the Valleys should be extended to serve several restaurants and a State Highway Department building that either have faulty septic tanks, or no facilities at all. (See Figure 8.) If such an extension is made, the Green Spring Valley will immediately become susceptible to development and the Plan for all intents and purposes will be destroyed. This has kept a loaded revolver at the GSWV Council's head for the last six years. Council is able to defer the extension of the Jones Falls Sewer and to block all efforts on the part of the County, even to the extent of influencing the County Council to reject a portion of the countywide water and sewer plan which is required by state legislation and which would permit the sewer extension. This is the first *legislative* action in *favor* of the Plan since its inception in 1964. Opposition to the sewer is so strong, "garnished" by political support, that the County finally decides to hire an outside engineering firm to study both the Council's and the Administration's side of the question. The report is forthcoming, another cliffhanger.

The Valleys Council has expanded from an initial membership of 250 to a present enrollment of 355 families. Council membership still constitutes less than 9 percent of the total population of the area, but 40 percent of the inventory of *open land* is now owned by persons paying dues to the Valleys Council. Moreover, the highest concentration of member land holdings is located in those sections of the Valleys considered to have the greatest potential for development. In one such area, adjacent to the Harrisburg Expressway on the east, Council members hold 67 percent of the total undeveloped acres. Similarly, over 60 percent of all undeveloped land is held in Council membership in other highly accessible areas.

The character of membership is not representative of the Valleys' present population and a considerable portion of the lack of general support for the Plan can be laid to this cause. A drive is underway to expand and broaden the membership.

The Valleys' population is not highly organized, politically or otherwise. There are no major organizations or groups which base their operations exclusively within the Valleys except for some thirty-five improvement associations. The associations of recent settlers in the Valleys generally serve subdivided areas on the peripheries, and The Plan For The Valleys is considered by them to be irrelevant to their interests. Older associations, composed largely of the "villager" segment of the Valleys' population, are not represented on the Valleys Council. One such group, the Falls Road Association, is composed of farmers and other early landholders who hold valuable real estate in the Green Spring Valley. There has yet to be a major confrontation between them and the Valleys Council, but The Plan For The Valleys is viewed by members of this group as a conspiracy of wealthy residents to secure for themselves the development value of the area. The Council's reorganization plan, now in process, envisages a Council of Presidents of all thirty-five associations within the total Valleys area.

The Countywide Citizens Planning and Housing Agency and the County League of Women Voters both endorse the Plan, but have not become involved with the activities of the Valleys Council, largely because their principal constituencies are improvement associations located elsewhere in the County.

The County Administration *has* endorsed The Plan For The Valleys. Consequently, the Department of Public Works and Office of Planning and Zoning are officially on record as supporting the efforts of the Valleys Council. A difference of opinion, however, arises over the County's role in implementing The Plan For The Valleys. The Office of Planning and Zoning contends that the County should go beyond mere endorsement of the Plan and use public resources and policy to assist in its implementation. The principal means by which the County could assist the Valleys Council, according to the Director of Planning, is for the Department of Public Works to conform to the pattern of development proposed by the Plan in making its decisions regarding the extension of utilities.

The Director of the Department of Public Works continues to hold, however, that such decisions can be responsibly made only by his responding to the demand for such utilities as water and sewer as they arise. He feels the application of planning considerations to such decision-making is of secondary importance, and while they may determine the precise route of the extension of utilities, they are irrelevant in deciding whether or not such extensions should be made.

A Frank Appraisal

During the six years of its operation with The Plan For The Valleys, the Council has accumulated substantial strength and influence with which public and private groups must contend before undertaking a development project in the Valleys. Nevertheless, the Council has yet to achieve the level of effectiveness needed to implement the Plan.

In the cases in which the Council has become involved, there is a failure to distinguish those which are relevant to the Plan from those which are not, and considerable time, energy, and money are spent on issues which bear little relevance to the Plan. Such cases serve the special interests of a segment of Council membership rather than the needs of the whole.

The lack of full commitment of the Council membership to the objectives of the Plan is illustrated by their unwillingness to form the necessary mechanisms for the Plan's execution—the real estate syndicate and conservation trust. While the delaying tactics have met with a limited success thus

far, the Council, lacking a formal control mechanism, is severely constrained in its ability to achieve the basic objectives of the Plan. The failure of Council membership to view objectives of the Plan as compatible with their personal interests is the most serious threat to realization of the pattern of development proposed by the Plan.

According to projections, development pressures will not approach the interior portions of the Valleys until 1980. The present tight money market has temporarily delayed real pressure on the outer extremities. If, by 1975, the Valleys Council does not have a formal development mechanism in operation, it is doubtful that the main objectives of The Plan For The Valleys can be achieved.

A massive public relations effort is required. Fulltime legal and technical staff is needed. A prototype of development and conservation should be built, by a syndicate or some similar land development cooperative, to show how compensation and betterment can work on a cross-section of the hills and valleys. This can demonstrate how quality development can take place in one area, open space and private ownership can be preserved in another, and the gains can be equitably distributed to syndicate shareholders.

But will the Valleys Council do it? It is fruitless to talk of a "good" plan that people can not or will not carry out. If the goals had been set lower, as in the sub-optimum plans, they would have been largely achieved by now. The Valleys would be developed with a somewhat higher level of coherent amenity than would be the case with "uncontrolled growth." But they would now be developed.

However, if the goals had been set lower, the Plan would not have attracted national attention—an attention which has helped keep the Council going, creating a climate of credibility and hope. Without that climate, the Council would have long since vanished—along with the open space.

The barriers to the success of The Plan For The Valleys are very clear. First is the intransigent attitude of the Department of Public Works in refusing to use public works as guiding agents of change. Instead, sewers and highways are located in response to developers' demands and in violation of the Plan.

The second barrier to success is the Council's curious reluctance to take positive action in creating the proposed private real estate syndicate (or syndicates) and conservation trust—the develop-

ment mechanism. In the meantime, the Council is, in effect, encouraging considerably less than the Optimum Plan, utilizing few, if any, of the guidelines and controls available for even sub-optimum results. The officers of the Council only partially fill a leadership vacuum. They are capably enough carrying out defensive improvements and association-type activities but are not willing or able to mount the offensive. They are winning battles but losing the war.

When the Plan was published, Lewis Mumford wrote in 1965:

This Plan for the Green Spring and Worthington Valley is brilliantly conceived and thoroughly worked out, down to the detailed demonstration of a better community pattern, based on the cluster instead of the row, for the individual housing development. In both method and outlook, this is the most important contribution to regional planning that has been made since Henry Wright's original 1926 report on the Development of the State of New York. McHarg and Wallace have shown by constructing an appropriate many-sided model, what great opportunities for improving the human habitat actually exist, once the forces that are now blindly despoiling the landscape and depressing every human value are guided with intelligence and imagination to more valid goals. The Plan For The Valleys, in both its method of approach and its human aims, should serve as a pattern for all future efforts to conserve life values in a growing community, where uncontrolled or misguided developments may, as in so many parts of California, obliterate the very natural advantages that stimulated this growth. This report should guide, not only the farsighted Council that brought it into existence, but communities all over the United States that are confronted with similar problems, who have too often been frustrated and deformed by ill-conceived highway and residential settlement plans, and which can be saved or improved only following the strategy that the Plan For The Valleys has worked out.

But time is running out.

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